1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Medgana, Mokonen, and Moielyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 161 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
(791) the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
662 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 317), Mbatian told his eldest son Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
578 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1901 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

796 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-ai, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-ai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyænas*, in the unwillingly unconvenient way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though earlier and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-okir'-ai

Iki en-ditki enje 'l-Masuse Ol-okir'-ai. Ten ejilg ene-lolos e'ng-ai, pe ashe eng-ai, aiyitito 'l-Masuse 'ajore ashore ashe.

Ilije 'e-gure 'Ol-lile le-paps' ene ti-enkî enein 'arusis lumuk; etii en-nanyokye, etii en-nalisi, etii e-nanito. Ilije ili: 'Aishe paps ene ayore.'

The rainbow.

There is something which the Masai call The rainbow, and if one is seen in the heavens whilst rain is falling, it is a sign that the rain will shortly cease.

Children call a rainbow 'Father's garment' on account of its many colours, one part being red, another white, and a third variegated. They also say: 'I will give it to father for he will like it.'

Ol-okira le-'l-kiloloigai [1].

Ten ashi Il-Masuse ol-okira le-'l-kiloloigai, aiyitito eloloje e-eina kitok, etii 'e-gitoto, aditto ai el-anetye, emerishishitoo 'l-oshgumok il-nalgati.

Ej aje eine eita ayoriua 'l-kimaguo, ashi il-oshgumok el-okira le-'l-kiloloigai, aapuo nalo-eloloj le-gure-re-'l-Masuse ilitia 'e-gitoto, aditook el-lamia. Ene j' eilij le-gitoto eitook, ashi le-gure en-ditki aapuoi kake elkerenos aana e-gitoloj naiyepukua ti-aiuo ang-uo, aaipuishuoy, aitor, ashi, aapuko 'e-gijo eke ana e-nanga, aapuo aalikio ti-alg.

Ene je aalig el-alimi, aitje: 'Tini kiloloigai ashi el-okira le-'l-kiloloigai, aapuoiua en-gay

Comets.

When the Masai see a comet, they know that a great trouble will befall them, the cattle will die, there will be a famine, and their people will join the majority [1].

It is said that a comet was once seen before the Europeans arrived, and as some Masai children were watering the cattle at a pond after herding them, a creature resembling an ox but green in colour issued from the water. The children were frightened, and killed it. They then disembowelled it, and found that its body was full of curd-fat instead of blood. On returning to the kraal they related what had occurred.

When the medicine-man heard the story, he said: 'If we see another comet, people who are green in colour

[1] lit. the star of the tail.
[2] The Dinkas have a similar tradition (Kavalliaros, Schlüsselwort, p. 120).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

574 Aimeri, nemejiñg eng-aji oo-'l-Kishumu, amu mme en-o-'l-poror lenya.

Kake eikilikwan, ajo: 'Kodee 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-Aimer?' Ore p' eitadual, nejiñg eng-aji nabo.

Ore pe ejiñg, neinyútúto lido-openy eng-aji, nelo aiñguru 'n-giragat ti-aa-wuji, neiam ol-omoni aboitare e-figurúyúni.

[837]

Araki ten eata ol-openy eng-aji 'Igorúyok kumok, nelo airagye, neiñgweki ol-omoni inna-aji natijiñga meirage.

Meidim ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae atómitiki ol-omoni engiragata, amu ture, ten edek ol-poror lenya, nái.

instance, to the Aimer age, he must not enter the hut of one of the Kishumu age, as he does not belong to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the members of the Aimer age are, and when he has been shown them, he will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in elsewhere, the stranger remaining with his wife[1].

Or if the owner of the hut has several wives, he goes to sleep with one of these, leaving the stranger in the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die.

233 181 'N-giabu[2], oo 'n-gujit, oo kulia.

Cattle, grass, and milk.

Enyor il-Maasae 'n-giabu naleñg; meitanyanyukye 'n-giabu ae-tóki[3]. Eata 'n-giabu

[552] pókin ing-arn enye anaa 'l-tuñganak.

The Masai love their cattle very much, and consider that nothing in the world is of equal value. As with people, each cow is known by name.

Etii o-rowni lenye ajo:

There is a saying which is as follows:

'Erísyore en-giteñg nabo ol-

[556] lugbunya o-'l-lee.'

'One cow resembles a man's head.'

Éjo, ten e-tum ol-lee en-

They mean by this that if a man

[136] [113] [171]

[1] *Vide* note 2, p. 312.

[2] The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

[3] Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 194) writes with regard to the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savages . . . pay almost a divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.' Kaufmann (*Schilderungen*, p. 101) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ɛ́k en-giryi-kerai, nɛ́tɛn 'ɛgɛ́nyɛ ake 'ɔ-dɔ́kitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

Il-tanja oo 'l-mɛ́nɛ́ŋgɛ[2] loo-'l-tuŋgának, oo 'l-aúria.

Tee ɛ́tɛa ɛn-ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ el-tuŋgani, nɛ́ji ɛ́tɛa ɛn-ɛ́nɛ́ŋgɛ el-tɛa lanyo. Naa, ten ɛ́k el-tuŋgani, ore ɨ́ ɛ́ɛnɛ́, ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ ɛ́l el-tɛa lanyo. Kɛ́ji ɛ́lɛ́ɲi ɛ́tɛa 'ɔ-gɛ́lɛ́ɔ: mɛ́ɛ́ɲi el-tɛa ɛpɛ́ɔ.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyænas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

Kake ten ɛ́k el-ɛ́lɛ́ɔni arɛ́ki el-kúrɛ́a, nɛ́ɛ́ŋkarí, ore ɲo ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ɲ ɔ-ɛ́ɛnɛ́ lanyo, nɛ́ji ɛ́tɛáwɛ́a el-tɛa lanyo, ɛ́tɛa el-aúrɛ́a; nɛ́lɛ́ɔ el-aúrɛ́a ɛŋ́-ɛ́lɛ́ŋ ɔɔ-'l-ɔ-gɛ́rɛ́ ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ɛa, nɛ́ŋ́gúrɛa.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

Ti-arɛ́ki naa nɛ́ŋa, ɲo nɛ́tɛr il-Kɛ́ɛnɛ́ 'l-aúria lanyo. Naa, ten ɛ́lɛ́l i-ɲ́gɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́k el-aúrɛ́a ti-ɛ́ji, nɛ́ɛ́ŋ́arɛ́ki kúlle, nɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ɛj el-aúrɛ́a, nɛ́lɛ́ɔ.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

Ɛ́lɛ́l 'l-aúria ɛɛ́ɛ́ɔk, naa la'ɔ-gɛ́ɛ́ɲ́tɛ́ɛ́ɲ oo-'l-Aíser; naa, ten ɛ́ɛr líkɛ́ɔ ɛ́lɛ́l 'l-ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ŋ, nɛ́ɲ́ɔ: 'Kíser, aana 'l-kúlɛ́ɛ́ŋ́g'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schlesinger*, pp. 130, 190; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 238, &c.).

[2] *Ol-tee*, the heart, mind, soul; *el-menegani*, the corpse, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 107, 118; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 22; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 50; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 230, &c.). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 6, 237).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 104, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

304 752 Naa, ten esta ops 'l-tuñgunak pikin in-jilalo oo-'l-alala-keper nme aaa'-'ata eiyioni nalelg im-bwai. Ore taata etamooki en-bwata.

[526] Tenolol-Maasai-tuñgani lemabwa, nekwenikye aaje: 'Elgirie 'sirkun en-daa.'

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

En-barnore.

302 Elaara il-matruak oo' ilgutyak oo 'a-gura oo-'l-Maasai 'l-inghiany oo 'l-papit loo-'ag-anyak le-keper, sepat il-papit loo-'ag-anyak il-aluri ten eirage pe erin ang-ekge.

Nepat araki nelaara ali 'l-muiyo oo 'a-gitikit oo 'a-guiashi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-orashata, nepai kulikae.

Tani nepuroo il-muraa, nemelaara il-inghiany nutalaana ntuai, neitalasia 'l-taighan.

[574]

Ore ten ala e-ilgutyitai en-gurai, nemelaara niaye o en-gurai enye nutalaana nelala

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their skins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [191] [194] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 805): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Hilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst those people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[191] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Shuli, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1900; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] Vide p. 508.

[3] Vide p. 250.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

en-gwai 'l-ala oolgwan, le-kapar sare o li-ebore sare.
Nyi kulle-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower.
The hair of the head is called the mane.

Ng-amulak.

Entari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Masae; en-e-'menata en 'n-oo-'n-dikitin naadoli inilgwayai. Nentari all 'ng-amulak too-'l-olkonok, ten ajtoni neishin 'l-inilgunak.'

Ten enen ol-Masani likae-inilgwai, neishkaki 'ng-amulak ang-enom, ntjo: 'Ire ol-dia.'

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting: one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people'.

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Ore pe edol il-Masae 'l-Asiomba ops, neishkae, ntjo: 'Ekye 'l-Orida' anaa 'l-inkwanani.' Nemeiyoo neyikaki diatye.

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it.

Ten edol ol-Masani en-gwai kiti naita ae-olidg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'Taiolo, tamoo 'ng-enyuk o-'l-orere.'

Nae, ten edol en-gwai naita ae-olidg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, ntjo: 'Torono enna-kerai'; kake tjo to-'l-tan laiye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; ana tji, ten ajtiki ol-inilgwai en-gwai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nenyaiye.

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.'

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill.

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Reisebemerkungen*, p. 108).
[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

514 576 201 Ten eŋgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuŋgunak tasati salelŋ, nenotaki 'ŋg-amulak il-tasati, ntjiki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Ai.'

Naa, ten eŋgasaki 'l-murran il-tuŋgunak kitoak, nenotaki kulikae-kitoak ing-amulak ing-aik.

821 514 189 Naa, ten aloi ol-Masaani en-diki neitu ae-olelŋ aloi, anaa ol-ekire ôitye, nenotaa 'ŋg-amulak, ntjo: 'T'uaho! imijore 'l-muŋguti!' ntjo ali: 'Telakwaki.'

514 189 [351] [43] Ore ali ten eriktae, neipot il-merelŋa arâki eng-erna o-'l-tuŋguni ôtaa, nenotaa 'ŋg-amulak. Ore ali ten emiŋ il-omon terak injere otaa ol-tuŋguni ôje, nenotaa 'ŋg-amulak, ntjo: 'T'uaho, eng-Ai, mikiata 'n-giyaa.'

514 199 Ore ɣ' eiter aapwiton 'l-Aiyaŋgua kuna-kwapi, pe aloi il-Masaae, nenotaa 'ŋg-amulak, anaa ntjo: 'Eita kidol il-tuŋgunak anaa kulio.' Ntji ali: 'L-ulunuk kitoak kulio-tuŋgunak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aiyaŋgui ol-tuŋgani ol-ekani, ntjiki ol-tuŋgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ŋg-amulak ɣ' aishio.' Ntji eng-erna 'l-Ôjoje anaa eata 'l-papit kumuk.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[1], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them muliaine-nam, and if a European gave a Masai muliaine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojoje owing to their being hairy.

[1] Vide p. 287.

[2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their hands and spit slightly on them. [illegible] (Wilhelm Junker, *Als Afrikaner unter Afrikanern*, p. 107).

[3] Vide p. 289.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

N-daĭki.

Ntĭĭ m-daa oo-l-Maasae paa kulĭ ɛ́ok il-mórusk, oo ŋgurtyok oo l-ayok, oo n-doiya.

Naa l-muran ake oorto l-oŋĭĭgi e-sero aapwo aayeŋĭg: ore n-gulye-oloŋĭgi nepwo ŋg-aĭgite aaok kulle, kake matoni l-apaltin aare eitu tyeŋĭgiaka.

Ɲĭki pɛ etum ĭl-mórusk oo ŋgurtyok oo l-ayok áinoos n-giri, ainos. Einos eŋgiteŋ ten ɛ́ɛ openy, araki etaĭgure e-asurai, araki einoos el-dwaru.

Meiyɛ́ɛ l-mórusk loo-l-Maasae aiyeŋ in-giaku enye puaka, nooa eng-olat natadua: ore el-taĭyani enyor in-giri aĭje ol-Tatiɛ́ni.

Ten áiko e-ŋgurtyɛ́ni, aiyeŋĭgi e-kiteŋ oiakorieki e-lata.

Ten emmayu e-ŋgurtyɛ́ni, nemiakori n-daĭki supati. Ten eiyɛ́ɛ n-giri, neiakori l-aik araki n-giri taaati: ten ɛ́ɛkori kuli, nepiki eng-aru.

Enyor ai l-Maasae e-eargu. Ŋgur in-giaku too-n-giaka, taĭgur too-l-ŋgurɛta. Ore pe ɛ́ɛ eŋ-giteŋ, neiwɛ́ɛ too-l-pukuta. Ɛ́ok kulikua ervɛ́k, eatĭ l-enye kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Seligman, Some Facts in the Sudan, p. 92, &c.). [121] [113]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore 'n-gulye-tŏkitin náinọsi.

Enyaal il-mórnak oo 'ngorŏyok ol-kumbau áituahulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-muran. Netii 'l-cook too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, ntji en-gisugi. Netii sii kulikae cook too-'l-mŏtio.

Ĕok sii 'l-muran, kake mŏok pŏkin. Menyaal ninje 'l-ayok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemŏok; etoni ake.

Metumil-Maasae ol-kumbau, amu meiytio aatuturu; kake einyañgu too-'l-meek, áinoeye eng-erno oo 'n-dare taasti.

Memiraki 'l-Maasae 'l-meek in-gishu supati, 'n-gishu olupia ake oo nemeata kulle, oo náile 'l-aabo, ninje ake emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare mórnak oo 'n-daasti.

Ntok sii 'l-mórnak in-aishi, neinyañgu 'l-maruan o en-jai too-'l-meek.

'N-gere ake náince en-aisho najun. Ptiki en-dtiki naince il-mórnak te-'n-aisho najun il-chaugure ake.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Ocimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-jai.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, Schöpfungsage, p. 230).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-chani loo-'ng-anyak, the eye-medicine.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the Honey-indicator bird.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 293 [753] bengei, nemweiyu, nōū. Nēji ɛ̄osh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nōū, neisho 'M-Batyany olchani, neishiu; kake mɛ̄osh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu oltuñgani oirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

The smiths [1].

463 396 Meiyōlo 'l-Maasai pōkin ɛ̄idoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gisa oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje oeidoñgu 'n-areta, neinyañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin ntɛ̄idoñgiabore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o el-kiriset, o elgaramet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin ntɛ̄idoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-alulunganí, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

[439] Ore 'segbenge nasata too-'l-Aabumba einyañgusi, arakí eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

326 564 Metii en-gishōmi nemasta 'l-kunōno, kake nalo-kishōmi nasta 'l-kunōno kumok, nēji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasai 'n-doiyo oo-'l-kunōnot, amu ɛ̄ju

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191 [1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumalods (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumalods are spread over the whole of Somaliland to the Kenana river Mountains, and no instances is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Reland, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 230.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Il-mŏtio.

276 [237] [322] [887] Eitau 'l-mŏruak loo-'l-Maasae 'l-mŏtio too-'l-oik loo-'n-gineji, araki too-'mŏwarak oo-'munyi, araki too-'l-oiri-enito; kake mŏok naleñg ol-kumbau too-'l-mŏtio, ŏok too-'n-gumeshin, araki enyasi.

Pipes.

Old men amongst the Masai make pipes of goats' bones, rhinoceros horns, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much; they prefer to take snuff or chew tobacco.

'N-gataltin e-'ng-oloñg.

805 [82] Eata 'l-Maasae 'n-gataltin enye e-'ng-oloñg o e-'n-gewária.

Etii en-dama, netii sii en-deipa.

Ore en-deipa naa en-gata napwŏnunye 'n-giaku añg, etaa en-nedŏye eng-oloñg.

Netii tara, naa inna-kata etom eita eirura ol-orera.

Netii kewária, a ninye en-þoioe e-'n-gewária, netii en-niosthwani, na inna-kata etaa en-utkenye, a ninye ejo 'l-Aalumia: 'Baa tomom.'

Netii en-doruna, araki pe eiir, en-ebi-kata pe enyukyuna en-gilepuoto e-'ng-oloñg.

Netii en-dalthany, naa inna-kata eilepua eng-oloñg.

Etii sii 'n-gataltin naaji eipire eng-oloñg, o etualoghŏto 'l-eipi, o e-matii.

The divisions of the day [1].

The Masai have various names for the divisions of day and night.

There is day (as compared to night) and evening.

The evening is the time when the cattle return to the kraals just before the sun sets (6 p.m.).

There is also the time called Nightfall, or the hour for gossip (8 p.m.); this is the hour before people go to bed.

Then there is the night, midnight, and the time when the buffaloes go to drink—this latter is the hour before the sun rises, which the Swahili call *Saa kumi* (4 a.m.).

There is also the time called The blood-red period *or* When the sun decorates the sky: this is the hour when the first rays of the sun redden the heavens (5 a.m.).

Then there is the morning: this is after the sun has risen.

There are also the hours called The sun stands *or* is opposite to one (midday), The shadows lower themselves (1–2 p.m.), and Afternoon.

[191] [1] The Dinka divide their day in much the same manner as the Kavi (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 130).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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'N-gataltin oo 'l-apaltin.

Etii 'n-gataltin oligwan oo 'l-apaltin tomon o sare.

'L-apaltin le-'l-oirajuraj:

1. Kaira-ibo. Niaye ol-le-'n-gilipata e-'ng-ai oo-'n-Gakwa, o ol-oiter ol-ari.

2. Kipere. Eiperno 'Ngurtyok aajo mosta 'n-giaku kulla.

3. L'-iarai. Etitto 'n-gujit, etaa 'iarai ake onata 'n-gujit naanyori.

'L-apaltin le-'l-amtyu:

1. Pushuka. Niaye eitapaiye 'l-kiik, dibuligu 'n-dapuka.

2. 'N-dulgua. Niaye oligwarori sishuaye pe esha eng-ai e-'l-tamurel.

3. Ol-olbarara. Eiber ingatambo.

'L-apaltin le-'l-tamurel:

1. Ol-giana. Niaye ol-le-'n-kuia le-'l-tamurel, nemeshiki 'wajitin pikia eitaa 'l-orighaishi anaa 'l-kanan.

2. Ol-odala. Niaye olalauye eng-olulig, oidipa etasha eng-ai e-'l-tamurel.

3. Loo-'n-guaku. Niaye ol-le-'n-gilipata e-'ng-ai e-'l-tamurel, naaji 'n-giaku 'n-dariik naaji 'n-guaku.

Seasons and months.

There are four seasons and twelve months [1].

The months of showers:

1. June. This is the month after the rain of the Pleiades, and the first month of the year.

2. July. The women wrangle and squabble because the cows give but little milk.

3. August. The grass having become dry, food for the cattle is only found in the valleys.

The months of hunger:

1. September. The trees flower in this month.

2. October. This is the last month of hunger. When it is finished the lesser rains may be expected.

3. November. The clouds become white.

The months of the lesser rains:

1. December. This is the month when the lesser rains fall in showers and the ground looks like stools or cloths for carrying children in.

2. January. The sun comes out again, and the lesser rains stop.

3. February. This is the last month of the lesser rains, when flocks of small birds (*Buphaga?*) follow the cattle.

[1] The Dinka have two seasons and twelve months (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 191).

[111]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (nodate) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophe a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders. [179]

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOSBROOKE assumes too much. He writes, [180] " On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. [181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened ".

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point. [182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOSBROOKE's conclusion on the secondary character of the prophet's function in the institution of the age-class. [183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that " the age grades " have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 14, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. Of course he relies entirely on his leader.

[180] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 15.

[181] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 2, " lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands ".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 316, fn. 2.

[183] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 16: " But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (*i. e. Eunoto* and *Nyakoi* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new age commences or hold ones stand down ".

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231

perpetrated on other tribes. But the present conditions have altered this by the confinement of the boundaries of the reserve, and in addition to the deterioration caused by the lack of fresh blood and consequent in-breeding, the cattle suffer from want of pasturage and water in certain parts of the land that has been allotted to them. It is found generally that the quality of beef obtained from Masai cattle is very poor and is tending to become worse.

Pure-bred bulls.

Owing to this deterioration, the Director of Agriculture suggested the immediate provision of a pure-bred bull for crossing with selected native cows. This experiment was tried, and the bull was sent to Naivsk, where it died in 1917, having left a few useful calves, but not having survived long enough to demonstrate the success of such an enterprise.

Mr. Hemsted suggested the establishment of a Government stock farm, to be maintained at the expense of the Masai, and intended solely for the benefit of the tribe. This would be of an experimental nature at first, but would be developed as circumstances required, and as funds permitted. The bull-bred stock produced on the farm, especially the bulls, would be sold to the Masai with the object of improving their herds. In conjunction with this farm a dairy industry might be started, and the Masai taught to manufacture ghee and dairy produce. This would tend to make the scheme self-supporting. As a commencement Mr. Hemsted asked sanction to purchase up to one hundred native cows or heifers and a few pure-bred bulls, and to establish a farm in the reserve by means of the funds derived from the Masai Suspense Account.

His proposal received the support of the Director of Agriculture, who thought that far-reaching results might thereby be obtained in the improvement of Masai cattle.

The scheme was discussed by the Governor-in-Council on the 14th of April, 1917, when a decision was given that the time was inopportune for the establishment of such a farm, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed until the conclusion of hostilities.

Sir Henry Belfield's comments on development of the Masai.

Before proceeding on leave in April, 1917, Sir Henry Belfield recorded the following minute on the subject of the development of the Masai:—

"The proposal" (for the establishment of a stock-farm) "is based on the assumption that the policy of the future is to develop the Masai as pastoralists. If this assumption is correct, the proposal is sound. Personally, I would rather see the preservation of enormous herds gradually discouraged by taxation, and encouragement given to industrial habits. Further, I would prefer to see local and export markets provided by our Europeans graziers rather than by the Masai. The proposal should stand over until the question of taxing of the Masai cattle has assumed a more definite form."

OCC

SECTION 4.—THE E-UNYO CEREMONY.

Purpose of the ceremony—Description of the ceremony—Kinonjo—Application by the Masai for permanent residence on Kinonjo—E-Unyo ceremony in 1915—Negotiations for abrogation of rights to Kinonjo—Conditions sought by the Masai according to custom—Result of negotiations—Renewed application—Visit to the Mau Forest—Completion of the ceremony—Discussion by Masai Council on surrender of Kinonjo.

561

The E-Unyo Ceremony, which looms large in the history of the Masai Nation, is a ceremony held according to Masai tradition at intervals of approximately seven years. The duration of the ceremony is from three to six months for each tribal division or group of divisions, and the duration for the whole tribe may, therefore, take from two to three years.

Purpose of the ceremony.

The purpose of the ceremony is not too clear, but it is said to be for the handing over of the guarding of the Masai country to the incoming age of warriors, and it takes place a year or two before the circumcision ceremonies. On the completion of these ceremonies, the past age of Moran commences to take wives and go out as Elders. A similar proceeding used to be held by the Nandi, but at the close of the expeditions of 1905 the Nandi were induced to hand over the guarding of their country to the Government. In the case of the Masai the ceremony would appear to be both essential and undesirable.

● [ni]

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceeded those recorded in the books.

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107.

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	*HEHE*	
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.2%	) of adult
Men with one wife	33.1%	48.6%	) male
Men with two or more wives ...	22.7%	26.3%	) population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Morans.

	Kibaya	*Semetwa*	*Engare-nanyuki*	*Longido*	*Total*
Total morans	133	150	66	234	583
Total married morans	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	12.8%	14.5%	30.3%	36.3%	25.0%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 100 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 100 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their moran sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwati, 1.5 to every Darvio and 0.5 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those morans who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :—

186 L. S. B. LEAKEY.—*Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

[120] Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

[124] These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

[101] The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since
[118] [126] government control has been set up, but I have, nevertheless, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

[119] *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the hut. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its ears are punctured in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of
[124] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 [127] *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they are two years old, and unlike some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any [illegible]

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

56 place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as morangalonga ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any junjomboo group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single manyatta, as each manyatta is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A manyatta consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that manyatta. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the manyatta and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The older women are there to do the work of the manyatta, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the manyatta as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a manyatta at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that manyatta, and each warrior living at a manyatta is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the manyatta, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the manyatta.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the manyattas a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *kendoni* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *naindira*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose *no-mad-no*," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the *no* of *no-mad-no*." By so *doing the girl friends decided to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a* point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

[833] [836] attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

[841] *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual [•][711] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

[842] *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Wastebrood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

[847] *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

[847] [848] [849] *Penalty for Conception.*—If an unbetrothed girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below) her initiation would take place at her mother's home and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is initiated because she is with child the cost of all the arrangements is debited as to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. He not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, " because he has prevented the latter

from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olokiyajiko* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *olenguai*. Next a ram is killed called *olokiteitei* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olkurrut*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

13.Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 150 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system on the Nandi *koptis* or Kipsigis *kimnaketet*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *olchete*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *olgarti*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or subclan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, *enchekit*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*Gorika*, sing. *e-ndorio*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move house (*ildet*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that women may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fabricius says that they may.[1] But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual rules is required.

Inheritance of Cattle

There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given to start to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal[2] that cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-osho*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other elsemoms, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic unit" has little meaning, but as far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided between the father's kraal, *enkang*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyatta*, and that the

[1] Personal communication.

[2] (See details of this (kishomi) arrangement on another page p. 309. — Ed.)

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Maasi FL11

If they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uninitiated boys as guardians and instructors, while the duties of the grand mother to them (see p. 113) are said to be comparable to those of the mother. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Wanga had an age-division: "(1) Dugara, little children. (2) Lenik, boys. (3) Elmoran or elkidongi, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Elmoby, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Elmoluki, older than the Elmoby. (6) The Elkiyiok or Elkiambiko, the aged persons."[1] A woman is classed as a girl (nenik, en-dyoto, elder, en-dio) till married, when she becomes a mondio, "young married woman," and then an ilmok, married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

The Wanga kinship system accords equally, however, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinctive terminology appears to set taboos upon the third and second ascending generations. The Wanga system is therefore different from the Nandi ones, and though the word notos, meaning both "grand" and "relative," occurs in the Wanga system, it is not used with the precise significance of the Nandi term notet. The Wanga system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Butler's account, the fullest that we have.[2] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tiacho (an Mluyi); but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Butler, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[3]

There are (1) terms used of both kindred and affines, together with their affixes and only of affines. The words baba, papa, and yeyie are used without genetic signs; baba is derived from and-aba; papa and yeyie are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not mamaa and gum, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). Aba and its derivatives take genetic signs (el-aba, e-le-el-aba, en-e-el-aba, el-ajokuoni, nel-ajokuoni); so do yeye or ebyeye (el-ebye, nel-ebye); ochoo (e-le-ochoo, en-e-ochoo); e-nyakuot (only feminine); el-ajokuot, en-dio, meaning son and daughter (both covered by en-dio), "child," (referring to either sex); and el-abaito, brother, nel-abaito, sister, which have in addition the normal change of l, to d indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are el-aba and all females baba. In the second ascending generation, all males are el-aba, except the father's mother's brothers, who is el-ajok. The wives of all aba are baba; but the wife of el-ajok is papa. The husbands of baba are: (1) of father's brother's sisters, el-ajokuoni; (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, e-le-ochoo.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are baba, the mother and her sisters papa, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is el-ajok. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are papa; husband of father's sister is el-ajokuoni, of mother's sister, e-le-ochoo.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are el-abaito, and their wives e-nyakuot, brother's wife being distinguished as e-nyakuot e-wuyot to indicate close relationship. Sisters and father's brother's daughters are nel-abaito, and their husbands el-ajokuoni. Father's sister's son is el-ajok, and his wife papa; mother's brother's son is e-le-el-aba and his wife papa. Father's sister's daughter is en-e-el-aba and her husband e-le-ochoo, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (mpee, e-le-, ilan, ntoro), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is en-e-el-aba.

[1] Krapf, 1854, 151, qu. 219-20. This classification, Butler's account in his Wanga MS. qu. 2. There is an excellent analysis of the Nandi system by Huntingford, Nandi, in Africa, Journal of the Int. Inst. of African and Sturrock qu. 10-20.

[2] It is hard to understand, however, how the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as it is known among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

[53] and does old men. If a boy has not previously received a name, it may have been called by the name of his father's father, but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities. [52] There is much uncertainty about Masai names, but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le,* "son of," preceding his father's name; this he appends to indicate after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *N-ye,* "daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of kinonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as "the father of" his son, i.e., if his son is called Senden, he becomes Menye Senden; his wife similarly becomes Ene Senden, the mother of Senden.

[53] The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the [54] name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called *Olomasia,* "the gentle one," died, as he didn't the word *nasa* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *pajiwi,* "smooth."

Circumcision (S. marmela)

[59] Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and [60] the circumcisions period is "open," for about four years. Though the operations may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Kwaikhad forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Dundi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 46). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair there among the Dundi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-patasia o-ata,* "the passing of the knife." After making known what, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. He may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate. In the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy eats a raw relish at this time *o-tatia,*[1] which the girls of his kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early [52] and sits outside to get cold, after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dundi. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blunted arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered. [59] During this time he is known as *o-ngatoi* and wears the dress of a married woman, [60] including the *o-nanka* necklaces, and an ostrich feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *el-barnoti,* "the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his head company forms its *manyata,* he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. As on or about to attain the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *o-ngatoi,* and wear on their heads a wreath of the thyphone palm, *el-merisiani,* or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-set

[64] Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Dundi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Dobbs (1883), and Fallaize (1905), as well as from the Twenty age-sets (Dobbs, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1938 the seven *O-Kimelo*

[1] *O-tatia* [illegible] *o-ata* [illegible]

15:Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL:12 Masai FL:12

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Division and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *el-oiko*, is the *olol* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ang*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ang* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 50 guns. Within the *enk-ang* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head. It may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokwet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokwet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *el-aigwenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. Where the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *el-aigwenani* remains in authority. A number of sub-districts forms the larger unit, *el-oiko*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oiko* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *kokwet* council, and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oiko* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Dareni, and Il-Keek-e-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kisonga, or as distinct "tribes" like Il-Ariqiraki, Samburu. The organization of the Samburu seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[*] The *enk-ang* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-marimba* (sing. *el-mare*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-marimba* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-nok-kidoo, "the black cattle," contains the *il-marimba* of Le-l-pasio-kishu, Le-l-qarai, Il-maalo, and Siyappaai; and the Il-oo-dur-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-nok-kidoo, Le-l-kumai, Le-l-maak, and Le-gelt.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *el-aigwenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibon on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *el-aigwenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ang* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *el-aigwenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *el-aigwenani*, though in certain respects he is analogous to the Alu Boko or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *el-oibonok*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, casts illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fosbrooke divides

[*] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Warriors do their hair in pigtails, *ol-taika*; other people of both sexes shave their heads periodically. In both sexes the ear-lobes are pierced and elongated, and the two lower middle incisor teeth are removed. Cicatrised patterns are often made on the upper part of the body in both sexes.

Iron-work

Iron is used for weapons (spear and sword of warriors, and arrows of elders), axes, knife-blades, razors, and many of the ornaments of both sexes. The spears and swords are distinctive of Masai culture and, together with the shield and arm-clamp, separate the Masai and Nandi culturally from other Nilo-Hamites. Spears are of three shapes: a small leaf-shaped blade with long neck, long shaft, and medium butt; the great "shovel-blade" with short neck, long shaft, and medium butt; and the long-bladed winged spear with short shaft and long butt. The colour of the short shaft of the winged war-spear is important: senior warriors have black shafts, others reddish ones, and the demand of junior warriors for the privilege of black shafts is a significant factor in the tension that arises between senior and junior warriors. The sword has a long narrow blade and is kept in a red leather sheath attached to the belt. The winged spear-blade and sword have been borrowed by the Nandi, Kipsikis, Keyo, Kony and others of the Nandi division, together with the arm-clamp; the Kikuyu have imitated them.

Other Objects

Clubs are made of wood or rhinoceros horn. Shields are roughly oval, about 3 ft. long, and made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a light wooden framework; according to Merker, the old form of shield was circular and (if the scale of his Fig. 243 is correct) about 1 ft. in diameter. Stools are cut out of a solid block of wood and have three legs. Horns are used for summoning people, but there are no musical instruments or drums.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Little has been recorded of Masai religious beliefs, except such obvious facts as the invocation of *Enk-ai* (the Masai word for God, rain, and sky). As to ancestor-worship, it is generally said that the Masai do not believe in an after-life (said also of the Suk); but the alleged belief that the soul of a laibon or rich man turns into a snake implies some belief in the survival of the soul. This matter needs careful investigation; and Merker's statement that each Masai is taken to paradise by his guardian angel and let in by *Enk-ai* if he has been good is alien to Nilo-Hamitic thought. *Enk-ai* is recognised as a creator, and is prayed to by both men and women. Some of the prayers recorded include an invocation to both *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, the laibon who died *c.* 1880; thus Thomson heard the Il-Aikipiak praying to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany, and the Nandi war dance after a victory, recorded by Hollis after Mbatiany's death, contained also an invocation to *Enk-ai* and Mbatiany. The "minor deity called Neiterkob" which Thomson thought was an earth-spirit, appears in Krapf's book as the Neiterukob, "the mediator between God and men." But the Masai word *naiterukop* means no more than "that which began the earth," and thus would seem really to apply to *Enk-ai* in his role as creator. *Enkai*, god, is grammatically feminine, and his wife *Ol-apa*, the moon, is grammatically masculine.

Death and Burial

The bodies of most people are put out for the hyenas, to the west of the kraal, and laid on the left side so that the face looks eastward, with the legs drawn up, the head supported by the left hand, and the right hand across the breast. The

[P 193]

561
989

or hills, rock, and the place was somewhere between Uter Kadung and Lorre, i.e. west of the Kadung River in the B.R valley below the Kibiyo escarpment in Kenya. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the mountain outside of which the O-ngoro bar was located. Everyone in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Henry, Jack Cranberry and Jeremy D. Lotus. Moran are warm, lush forest and endowed with water, carrying only instead of spears, are armed in a large circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the fatty of the slaughtered animal and then the warm ends a line of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each informant.

The magical significance of the bow and finger strip is not necessarily known. Thinking magical is even very clear? The bow probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to cattle, the life-giver of the Moran. The significance of the hide strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with cattle but possibly of sexual connection (finger symbolizing male genitals, slit to vulva female). If the latter, the individual Moran would certainly not be aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in an individual imagination, acted and have been observed for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, e.g. the Wakamba use a finger ring from the bowstring hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence (Mungeam, personal observation) and priest to married are consecrated in the Nkedi governs wears a gemstone ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Manning-Lord, 1973, p. 68).

[211]

After this day-long ritual the informants returned here or night to the manyatta, where further ceremony was carried out at the O-ngoro bar.

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113

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• 171

[For information on the occurrence of similar cultural elements in other societies (here in terms of mythology), see category 116, pp. 401-458.]

Ms Meinhof 6-6 (1909-ca.1926) 1910 PLU Mimeo PLU

/xiii/

Foreword

by Professor Dr. Otto Dempwolff, Hamburg.

The reports of the deceased Hauptmann /Captain/ Meinhof, creating a sensation in his time, about the legends of the Ndevu as remarkably connected with the Hebrew early history are even today still capable of arousing the most widespread interest. The question as to whether traditions preserved for millenniums from the Arabian original homeland of the Ndevu people actually exist here or whether a Christian or even Jewish influence is not still to be assumed has not yet been silenced. As is known, Meinhof himself was undoubtedly convinced of the absolute impossibility of the latter assumption, and even if such an influence had nevertheless taken place, which is highly improbable in view of the reasons cited by me below, it could only have happened in the early period when the Ndevu were still living in the north, in the neighborhood of Abyssinia, which, however, also never again at the basis for strong scepsis.

First of all, mystification on the part of Meinhof, whose reliability is beyond all doubt, is completely excluded. Actually, it was only after a long acquaintance with the Ndevu of his region that he gained the confidence of these old Ndevu men who finally imparted to him the traditions otherwise anxiously kept from strangers; the distinguished Ndevu expert, our Bavarian compatriot Lang, and furthermore African experts such as Schlichter and Dr. Gruber, are equally firmly convinced that Christian influence through the missionaries working there for only a comparatively short time, toward whom ethnic the warlike and proud Ndevu have been very reservable up to now, is quite inconceivable. If the English missionary Albert R. Sengpiel, who was active there 1899-1905, says in the Expository Times, XVII, June, 1906, p. 459, that Mr. R. C. Wallis, his eminent authority on the Ndevu living in British East Africa, related to him from a Ndevu boy in his service, "that the Ndevu from whom Captain Meinhof got much of his information was for some years, during the Ndevu famine, connected with a Roman Catholic station in the neighborhood, as indeed were many others, besides those who came under interaction

According to Hollis, p.278, /sic cons./ the Pleiades are only six stars among the Mehri. Likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian Hengal symbol): the name of the bearers of the religious tradition of the Mehri, al-Mihenna, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kahh, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Tenaan (?).

2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Mehri custom that when one is inside with her he places his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Jaeger, p. 110 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the northern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. hail, chief, actually speaker, as well as mihh, "ruler," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syriac mayhi, speech).

The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally probably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Mehri mo-hengin, "young woman" (after the circumcision): tongo, al-gawwat, in the Arabic al-hallifan, and cowbell, eng-gerngir, the Arabic al-galgal, an-alarm, qaus, perhaps the Arabic al-qaw, needle. The name of the Iiana species angangara, from which the Mehri take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Jaeger, p. 37 and cf. p. 136, al-angirighiten), a vanilla-scented perfume, is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, angr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Mehri (for example, galeylan, a /cold/ tree name, al-qalqal, a devil), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (wanaqh, gold-green ; Hebrew yarqoq, kanwiad, green, but also harhar, berkibe ; hill, and the Tigre plant names gwalalaba, wadalbal, wadalbas, and kambagilgil. All these no doubt do not quite interfere that quite Mehri's naming of the Mehri as originally Semitic and then, quite specifically, as Arabian people seem fully justified.

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171 913 To come now to the early histories. It is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established mark of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the moon) to be described almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Ishmi, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

[135]

124 171 913 192 There is also the fact that among the Ishmi we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the first Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically accepted one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Humuvis on the meaning of creation; often Ishmi compares the word for dragon, ay-dinnunt (Sem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamat). It is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, Semitic, also goes back to the Babylonian kiâ, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the reconstructed kiâ (cf. similarly build bidu, or that case will Babylo. and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Ishmi ay-dinnunt also means lotus, monkeys, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic al-ghûl (from al-ghâla), "demon," but al-ghûl, "monkeys."

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Now in ancient Chaldean astrology this original dragon is the female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the lower picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon. the Kings of the Babylonian Epic of Creation)s according to Hollis (p. 360), however, mesanty means "the one /lion../ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /with/ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the lions-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, Ninegun, which is precisely the Babylonian girgiln, "lion," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, Nin-dar-anna, mistress of the lion of heaven (also anunitum, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, Nin-darra of Gudea), which, as Qadesh-Gir-gi-la, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 10, cf. Reisner, Hymnen /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 158 ff.). The sacred number of Ishtar (South Arabian anunitum Astar), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with Ishtar's birth: among the previously neighboring el-Gargoum people (cf. the Rhyndacus Gorgasus?) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Ishtar 15), Meier, p. 882, where the 15 guest battles with which the young man asks the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called el-anunitum because it lived in the reeds (= el-anunit), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, ellanitu, reed, swamp (or the latter, indeed, the reeds grow).

With regard to the individuality of the Ishtar legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur: thus, Ishtarathe corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, ea'dhem or ea'dhim?). Equivalent to Noah, Ziusudrâ, Xisuthrus, and

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/xviii cont./

formula to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Herzfeld, or his double Hermes, to Moses (cf. Hermes and Tim ; Moses and Aaron), Isaac to Ishtari, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar predilection for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every Mosaic name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eve /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Adam /Pardise/ (28, 12), etc., etc., up to Moses /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 10) and Samuel (1. Sam. 1, 20) with the naive interpretations of the Mosaic myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Nahamajah (a Eve) called her second son Kain because he had sinned (qâh) violently in the womb, or Hahawwa gave birth to a son and called him Seth because she so slaughtered by the father after the birth was spurned (šayt), then with this fanciness pervading the one side and the other to explain in some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of skeptics that mistranscription (alteration of some ancient times, say, of the five Christian centuries, or even recent ones is inconceivable) told the Mosaic fame stories in the Biblical style (and together with these Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /xix/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely minus the basis: it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple conception offered by Meder that the Mosaic brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient traditions) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or Sabi Arabian original

/via navy/
that has been lost to us (3).

1. With regard to the references to these Biblical popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 30 says "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admoni), play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (Esau=Edom) Seir ('seara, whose the accord between se' in se'ar and 'Se in 'Seara is sufficient evidence) after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('aqeb), and they therefore named him Ja'aqob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Ja'aqob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: Esau follows on the heel (God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is not mistaken assuming enough even so, but the imaginative connection of the evil or savage Edomi, disposed by an ass, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

I cannot now to the early history itself, which Wellhausen in Section II of his excursion producing Fourth Part, has closely compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding Sources of the Biblical tradition. I should be amiss in this connection but the Reviewed, who, as he said our himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Gelin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1900 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /The Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones", by Bedeutet und Kompendium, Gütersloh,

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published by Rév. Harps. (1st series, No. 2), had already called attention to his review of Meeker's book in The Reformation, Year 4, 1905, pp. 419-421, to the parallel between the lance-tipped hchagarda and Jakob /Jacob/ Genesis 32, 26. Far more important, however, is the fact that the Masai, from the creation of the world to the flood, exactly like the Hebrews in Gen. 4, count seven ancestors, the seventh of whom had three sons, whose correspondence to the Biblical ones is illustrated in the following table /in the original source the table appears in part at the bottom of p. xix and in part at the top of p. xx: in the translation below, the footnotes for each of the two parts will appear at the end of the part/:

Ubukumbe	Adam
Kinditie	Hebel /Abel/ (2)
Kaine (1)	Hesmark /Enoch/

1. Samuel of Kain /Cain/. Since among the Masai the first number is put shortly before the flood (for the motivation of these as judgment), there also fails to take place the story of Kain and Hebel, which, to be sure, by way of allusion, occurs again in Genesis (at the end of the 4th chapter) (cf. Jabal : Hebel /Abel/, Jubal : Kain /Cain/ and Tubal : Hesmark /Enoch/, so the original text probably reads) but it is to be noted that Kinditie had a brother Kain, from whom the blacksmiths are descended (Kain /Cain/, of course, means "blacksmith").

2. As twice the five level, just as, Gen. 4, Kain /Cain/ behind the five sits for Hesmark /Enoch/, which is where Hesmark, after Hesmark's name.

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Schagunda (1)	'Ind
Lemajim	Mahujah /'mahujmi/
Lemik	Metusalah /'matuwsal/
Lemgmi (2)	Lemek /'lemek/

1. Also (2) Ogarit, where one should compare the consonance with 'Ind (LXX Tadad for Thapad).

2. Thus perhaps presenting Lemkim instead of Lemek (cf. Gen. 3 Kainan /Cainan/ instead of Gen. 4 Kein /Cain/). Here I have tacitly inserted Lemgmi instead of his brother Tumbulcain (> Heb. cf. Hamlin, eth. Hebn. tubalj), which is fully justified, since Tumbulcain had three sons by Naipsaidan (Jachanit, Jaribsaan, and Jubman (> Gen. Jaan, and Jujbal), but also by the widow of his adopted brother Lemgmi, Bakaka-Legbiya (cf. with this double name the two wives of Lemek, Ada /Adah/ and Zilla /Zillah/), three sons more (who, according to the views of the so-called Levirate must properly be regarded as sons of Lemgmi), Lemka, Livigmaa and Livi-maa (> Jubal, Jubal, and Tubal). Thus, even among the early ancestors of the Nimi there were closely correlating similar duplicate reports (or variants of myths), like the parallel line of ancestors, Gen. 4 and 5, among those of the Hebrews. — Apparently in order to reach the sacred number seven, Gen. 4 omitted Enoch, whereas the Nimi mythicize, on the other hand, the Lemgmi = Lemek (inserted above by me instead of Tumbulcain); the number ten in Gen. 5 (cf. Sumer) was reached on the basis of God (read Elion instead of Adam) and the God-incarnate mediator (Enoch — Ἑρμῆς — Adapa).

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/ex cons./

A further correspondence may turned up to now in the four plagues after the flood (Jubilees, pp. 100 f.): 1. sickness (after the five dead), 2. dumb beasts (after the negligent killing of a suckling donkey), 3. grasshoppers (after the deliberate killing of a cow) with famine following that, and, 4. pestilence (or the raging epidemic): one should compare this with the expanded list of the ten plagues, Exodus 7 ff., in which the above-mentioned four plagues of the Jubilee are all represented, and (as may become evident, Dr. Otto Weber, pointed out to me) in the number four, the four plagues of the Babylonian account of the flood (Jensen 197 ff.), lion, jackal, famine, and pestilence.

With regard to the importing of the ten commandments from the mountain of God, what is characteristic of the situation in the Jubilee tradition is that it is not a figure corresponding to Moses that proclaims the sacred laws, but an angel, namely, the mal'ak Yahve of the Old Testament, and, to be sure, in the form of a human being (cf. Daniel 7, 13, and the Assyrian, i.e., the Akkadian of Bridu in the Babylonian myth) with two wings and but a single leg (?).

5. The description of the angel as a one-legged creature is probably only the naïve expression for lame-hipped or limping, whereby one is immediately tempted to think of the lame five goat of the Gemda (the Christmas Helm, or Stabe-Gabe), to also a five goat) and of Ex. 21, 19 /Ago: see Gen. 32, 31/ (where, according to the correct interpretation, despite 31, 32 /Gen. 32, 31/, not Jacob's leg, but rather that of the angel wrestling with him was out of joint). Lame-hipped bringeth = Yad (Yarad means "he has come down," cf. Babylonian Arad-Gilgi) also corresponds to Stabe-Gabe, cf. my brochure: Die alttestamentlichen Gerichtsfor- und das alte Testament /The old Oriental conceptions and the Old Testament/, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1903, p. 33. The Egyptian illustrations of Ptah and Chons goes back to a similar idea.

/to come/

on account of which he could only move forward by jumps, with the help of a stick: he was called al-Ḫiḍr/ (from ḫaḍara, crutch), a name that has been preserved in the Arabic ḫaḍḍa (walking along with a limping gait). Among the neighboring people of the al-Ḫaḍr (cf. the Hebrew 'ēṣ 'of people of the Aramaic inscriptions, which phonetically has arisen from 'Ḫaḍr' and has been preserved in the present-day name of Ḥaḍar, north of Khartoum). God is called Ḫaḍr (cf. the Biblical God, Gen. 8, and what was said about him above, p. xvi, note 5, end), who is supposed to have been worshiped in the form of a male figure with but a single leg and thus probably corresponds to the al-Ḫaḍr.

I do not believe that this ritual story of the limping man necessarily presupposes a knowledge of the proclamation of the Ten Commandments by Moses, to which, indeed, the completion, the so-called Book of the Covenant also belongs (3).

> 3. With the end of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23, 19 = 34, 26, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk"), cf. the same difference toward eating meat and milk together among the Hindus, Meinhof, pp. 40 and 108.

but rather that, long before Moses, it was a traditional feature of the original tradition that when commandments were given by God this was always done in two, the sacred number of the divine "Ennead" and entire of God, Yahwe; moreover, probably most of the Mosaic commandments already existed before Moses, and the criterion of this was of God, who surely belongs to history, was only that of summarizing them to his countrymen in a new arrangement and augmented by the Book of the Covenant.

This brings me to the last point, namely, the placing together of the ritual portents of Moses with the Hebrew sun, what seemed disharmonic to me from the outset, the old ritual dramas alike with the Biblical (originally probably Exodus-Exodus) Exodus attempted by Meinhof in Section III of his Papers Past.

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If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names, such as al-'Ānsī, 'Anaẓa, 'Anaẓa (from 'Anaẓ), are, there is not the slightest reason, in connection with the Azazel, to think of the Azazelians, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. More likely al-Ḥasan, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Ḥaṣīn (Abyssinian Ḥaṣīna, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic Ḥivvites) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Ḥivvi, the mythical ancestor of the Ḥivvites, especially since al-Ḥasan's son Ḥaṣīna sounds remarkably similar to Ḥivvi's grandson Ṣib'ō (LXX Σεβεών, Septuagint of Ṣib'ō-el, Regent) Gen. 11, 19, which again, however, only points directly back to East Arabia, the original seat of all the western Ḥivvites, since the district 'Ḥivvi-Ḥiviq (?)

1. Cf. in the connection my Ḥivvites (Ḥivvites/ Jebusite), 1944, p. 194, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian tribes of Jacobites.

While the Ḥivvi early Ḥivvites, as they finally became available to Ḥivvites after prolonged effort, are still being carefully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the Ḥivvi, such as also because known to Ḥaṣīn in British East Africa, some that are to be regarded as close echoes of the ancient myths. Among these I count /cut/ what Ḥaṣīn relates (p. 370) about the god Ḥivvi-ray (the word, however, has the feminine article, that the originators of the earth, the Ḥivvi of the Ḥivvi, whose Ḥivvi-ray the Ḥivvi of the Ḥivvi has become a deity, whereas the woman would be much too underestimated); on the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Ḥaṣīna, p. 370; cf. Ḥivvi-Ḥivvi, p. 310), on the envy of Ḥivvi-ray's disobedience (Ḥaṣīna, p. 371), to which I see a Ḥivvi-Ḥivvi-ray of Ḥivvi's account of the fall, as strikingly coinciding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the Ḥivvi-ray together of the two of peculiar and magical use to the ancient Ḥivvi (up to the Ḥivvi), then the preservation of this peculiar

/with cont./
the Bible (5).

5. Perhaps one of these is also the noteworthy accord between the name of the primeval dragon (Zaqqum) + (Hillel) Tiamtum, and Ki-Tiamti, "place of battle," an originally mythical locality of the ancient Babylonian East Tigris region (Territory of the Zambrowns, where the three-headed dragon Dabilla-Zabak was defeated; cf. in addition the three-headed serpent of paradise of the Inferi) was forgotten; cf. also the name of the two d'Ivrenis, Maiden, p. 115, and the above-mentioned (p. 117) latest etymology of Nemesis, with which may then perhaps be put the Babylonian gil-la-zu (from gil-la su-zu), a weapon of the god Nebo, probably to be thought of as having a dragon shape (cf. my Grundriss 'Einleitung', p. 115, footnote 4).

completely exclude any doubt.

/12 cont./

In connection with the eugenic view of the three Ibani branches, the following have to be considered. The local Ibani immigrant law, the true Ibani, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They previously never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Ingonese and did not take Ingone into their community.

Ibani & Ingone.

Ill. 2. Three Ibani women.

Therefore they most closely show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Ibani people. The name was true of the Walnuts until the time when they became mahommy. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost wives, but also many hands needed in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason no war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Walnuts and Ingone is very different in the individual [illegible] the Ibani, Walnuts and the Mandrovine --descript]

/92 cont./

When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children man to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the kraal and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (q.v. pots, cooking) are not made by the Ideal Homemakers, but are bought from mercenary tribes or else from the Wonderbibs, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are 4 feet high and globular. In contrast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people unmixed, as fresh (q.v. milk) or sour (q.v. milk, sour) milk boiled with a food for the sick and as curd is usually mixed with pulverized grains of (q.v. Index, Cereal Varieties). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or mixed in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /92/ cooked blood (q.v. Food) is greatly appreciated. Ox drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (q.v. Containers). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially sour foods, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt: It is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat the raw, dry cooked meat and milk /93. It appears here/ together

1. This was also forbidden to the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 34, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the (q.v. Ambrosia) spice (herb of

/48 cont./

601 The designations ainda, ee gijo, aruhó, and 'a gîbe are used
605 only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not
[634] effected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of aiwiha ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with ee gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng ainja, for the grandmother baiba. The grandfather calls the grandson ng aiu'ai; [634] the grandmother, baiba ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are [634] called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

571 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary
574 Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, with-
• [671] out exception (1) --

1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason.
571 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a
[573] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes
[618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/113 cont./

326 [314] [324] charcoal (eñ gîkuo, ñ guk). The charcoal, in piles the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees oi mokuran (Albizzia anthelmintica), oi kadedemma, oi mandemando, and a few others and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (se mûd i eñ gidolgore : stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (se gisirjedi, ei gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1)) 325 413

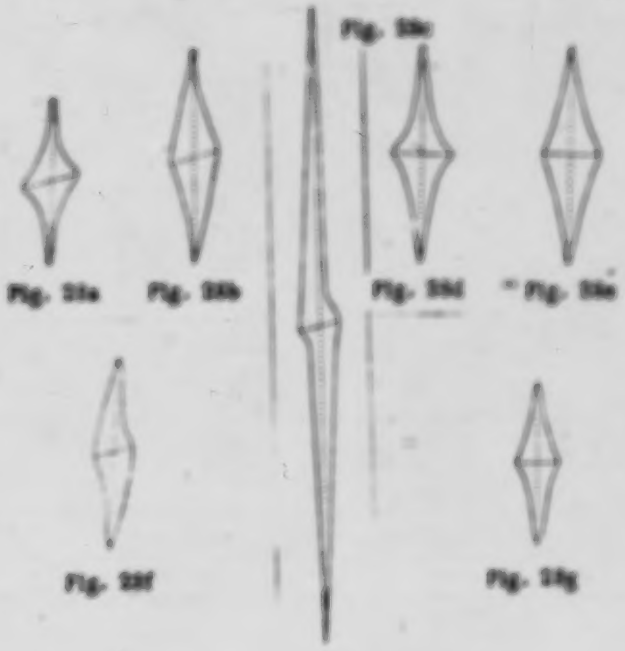
1. See p. 150.

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (oi garamet, ei garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (oi ciselge, ei ciselgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eñ gunet, ñ gunet) is /114/ represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (oi modi, ei modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube. [171] [237]

/132 cont./

411 (171) sometimes also types, which, however, only in exceptional cases do not closely keep on the general Masai shape. The essential difference between the two types is that the axes of the cross-section (Fig. 38) in /133/ the blade prepared by the Masai smiths stand obliquely to each other; in the one made by the Negroes, at right angles to each other. Another difference appears in the lower end of the blade among the long, narrow forms (Fig. 39), which among the former spears is more heart-shaped (a) or elm spear-shaped (b).

411 171



Legend for Fig. 38:
a, b, and c, Masai spears; d and e, Dschagga spears; f, Masai sword; g, Dschagga sword.

/[illegible]/

among the others usually more spade-shaped (1). The first two shapes, especially the spoon-shaped one, have in more recent times also been imitated by Negro smiths, and, to be sure, as I /[illegible]/ was able to determine in several cases, on the supposed order of higher auctions. While the spear shaft is circular above and below as a rule, one also finds such, particularly in the Ci Nyuggo province, among which these parts have a rectangular diameter and one which combines (Fig. 30) are made as everyday tools of various meanings (2).

1. They may assume similar, of bone, ivory or lianas, etc., of the owner.

/Figs. 30-32 appear here./

On the march the spear is carried, either on the right or on the left, in three different ways, among which the warrior alternates according to convenience. 1. With outstretched arm hanging down, the hand grasps the spear shaft at the spear's center of gravity. The spear lies horizontally, the tip /[illegible]/ directed forward and slightly outward. 2. The spear is carried in the arm, similar to the position of the "gun in the arm." With thumb, index finger, and middle finger the spear shaft is grasped in the middle, so one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

[illegible] grasp a pencil in writing. 5. The spear is carried on the shoulder upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward; the hand encircles the spear shaft with the fist.

The sword (Fig. 11) consists of the sword, wooden hilt, provided with transverse grooves, and the bone, double-edged blade. The former, according to the environment of the bronze, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 30 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 10) and was suitable only for [illegible]

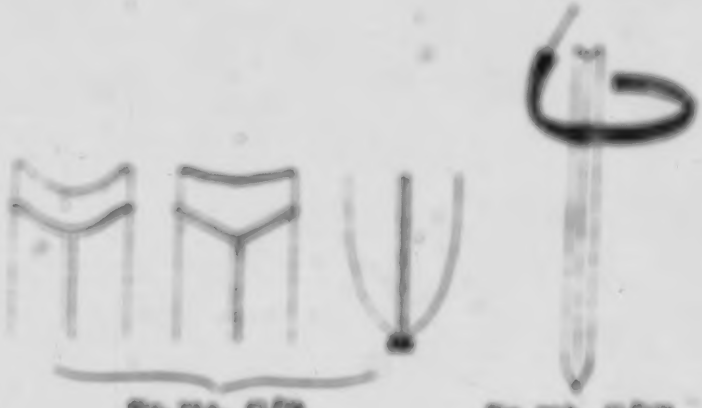


Fig. 10 a. (1/3)

Fig. 10 b. (1/3)

Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 60 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the sword blades: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 10 f), if it is made by bronze smiths, straight if by Stone smiths (Fig. 10 g). The

[illegible header]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] reception, whereupon the ripe of the mouth are wrapped with bark to the length of an inch. The bark bast, lengthened up to 50 centimetres, is placed around a bast-long stick and on this wrapped tightly with bast or goat leather wrapped thick, so that it forms a stiff band (cf. Ostgot) reaching to the ankle. Over this band can not infrequently [illegible] one to three similar ones. When the ripe of the birds reaches [illegible], cf. [illegible] cf. [illegible] are joined with that of the birch [illegible] band (cf. [illegible] cf. [illegible]) and the former tied together under the chin with a string [illegible] of fibers) (3).

[illegible]

1. This bark-style has the purpose of preventing the band from the harmful influences of the sun's rays. For this, one lets the bark grow long and, since the long strands fall sweepingly into the face at every movement, put it together into [illegible]. The Tonga helped themselves more simply, in that they shaved the bast part of the band and left the protection of the thick padding of bast on the back part of the head.

[illegible] The face is often perfumed with the root powder of [illegible] (Curcuma spec.). /[illegible] /Ills. 49 and 51 appear here./

[illegible] /[illegible]/ The white facial painting of the newly-circumcised has already been mentioned. Younger people, especially women and young girls, on all festive occasions, anoint the entire body (and so it is not clothed), with red paint, which they like to perfume with the pulverized leaves of [illegible] (Lawsonia spec[illegible] Sch.), which smell like vanilla. With one finger the overseer then often strip is off the skin lesion to serpentine lines (cf. [illegible], cf. [illegible]), so that a kind of drawing is produced. One who has killed an enemy in war paints his body at the following dance festivals with white and red earth in stripes (Fig. 47). This painting is called ng /Figs. 47-49 appear here/ pindiguan. At festivals one also often sees on the face of the warriors a red triangle, its apex starting at the alae and widening out up to the middle of the cheeks (Fig. 48). When boys

[illegible] CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]

/106 cont./

§62 other the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one does further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right are remain closed and only the thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says tuman (= 10). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

The latest count within human beings are cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 1st Chron. 21, that the man counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate larger multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and avoid even with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the Inlaws warriors, are counted individually.

§63 The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb = ni nanse kinde, that is, the big old one. Index finger = ni ngurtbet or ni mekinnge, that is, the sorcerer; if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, overcoming a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger = ni gudbi, that is, actually the only of this were English as the middle finger. Fourth finger = ligara ni gawanja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called ni gawanja or also ning kinde.

§62 Ordinals: ni ninerligo = the first /noun./, ni lenî = the second /noun./, ni lenguni = the third /noun./; ni ninerligo = the first /hon./, ni lenî = the second /hon./, ni lenî = the third /hon./. The /noun./ (the /hon./) (present), ni (ni) ninerî the last in the counting of the reverent is called ni ninerî ta gawanja; the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ni ninerî t' ni gaina ninerenge (ni gaina = the hand, ninerenge = on the right), the one standing on the other end, ni ninerî t' ni gaina ninerkinja (ninerkinja = on the left).

Once is called nabo kenî (or nabo gudbi) twice, ker' nabi three times, ker' ngi, etc.

From page 1

The months of the *si nivelgawé* are: 1. *le lagwaje nivelgawé*, also called *ollel wilak*, that is, the cool-up knife. As a result of the cold fatties of the winter months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. *Selaq* (= middle) *nivelgawé*, or also, but more rarely, called *si ak*. 3. *Aelgawé*, that is, early cool weather distinguishes this month.

The *si ewgit* starts with the month *klak*, that is, calm and cold. The person to spend on as a commencement the cows give so little milk as satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through which evils and hatreds arise. Finally the milk no longer extends to ceremonial activities, and the majority of the women with a few cattle move into the forest for cows eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of *si dalgwa* or *si dalaw* or *si dalgwah*, since even then the milk is still very scant. The cattle seems to be favored from the want of *gwelwah* a food scarcity. But until the beginning of the third month, of the *hawlaggo*, do they return to the kraals. From the abundant cows meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of cows stimulating cows has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX. Nerve Ailments.

The Yanai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event occurring to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (1).

1. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

[illegible]

"Panorama 5 continued" to figure, on the so-called Palermo stone ten dynas (Kinderreich, Geschich. Aegyp. Alte., 1905, 5.)

Proceeding from the present year, one also designates, with the help of yesterday and tomorrow, etc., the next years to the past and future: ḥꜣ.wt in ḫpr.ỉ swtwnw.ỉ (ḥr) ḥꜣ.wt = the year, ḫpr.ỉ = yesterday, swtwnw.ỉ = /tmr/ tomorrow, two years ḥꜣ.wt ỉ.wḏ swtwnw.ỉ, the year before last: ḥꜣ.wt ỉ.wḏ swtwnw.ỉ, the last year but two. Furthermore ḥꜣ.wt wḏ.n.ỉ ḫr.ỉ, tomorrow, ḫpr.ỉ = future), the next years ḥꜣ.wt ỉ.wḏ swtwnw.ỉ, the year after next: ḥꜣ.wt ỉ.wḏ swtwnw.ỉ, three years, ḥꜣ.wt ỉ.wḏ.n.ỉ, the third year coming, etc. One may extend these designations going beyond the last and next year.

804 The only common peculiar to the blend is the hand span (ꜣ.ḏnḥ), measured, with outspread fingers, from the tip of the thumb to that of the middle finger. I was only that the people measured with this the length of the spear blade, spear shaft, and sword blade, and board saw, upon entering the years harvest, they designated with so-and-so many hand spans the desired length to the smith.

XVIII.

CCC Livestock. -- Cattle. -- Cows. -- Castration. -- Donkeys. -- Goats. -- Sheep. -- Camels. -- Names for cows. -- Ownership marks. -- Hand scars for beautification and stigmatizing from the overseers of oxtrains. -- Counting the born stockmasters. -- Bird entrances. -- Sicknesses and their treatment. -- Cowbells. -- Tending the livestock. -- Drawing blood. -- Slaughter. -- Cutting up the animal and distributing the meat. -- Nomenclature of the livestock. -- Pasture in the swamp. -- Stockbreeding by the European settler. -- Useful and harmful fodder plants.

233 The blend's greatest joy is the ownership of as much livestock as possible; all his thoughts and acts are directed toward preserving and enlarging the herds. The cattle are native (ḫw.t ỉnḥ.wt), among

(cont. over)

376 convulsive stroke immediately and the attack passes over into a quiet spell of weeping, whereas after a slight wounding sufficient to confine, the patient's restlessness is said to increase further. If the outbreak of the attack -- which usually occurs toward evening -- is noticed by the women squatting around the patient, a number of them turn themselves upon him, force him to the ground, and hold him firmly until the attack passes. This occurs, as a rule, after half an hour or so has, how often it has somewhat longer. Then a curious sleep follows, interrupted several times by fits of crying and fits of sobbing, until toward morning, when a second, somewhat weaker attack occurs, during which the patient is treated as before. This second attack is often succeeded briefly then the first and runs into a spell of weeping gradually becoming quieter, which as a rule is soon succeeded by general exhaustion, which ends in deep sleep. After this the patient usually goes on to a speedy recovery; case only to appear as though still another relapse is to follow, which will be expressed by greater violence of the weeping fits. That there is an third attack is traced back by the people to the fact that the patient was closely watched during the second one, his companions now guard him more carefully and keep away from him any opportunity for excitement -- even a glimpse of weapons. To hasten a cure, large quantities, a liter and more, of liquid fat is poured into the patient, which he usually also goes even in the preceding days to alleviate the expected attack. The blood call the attack ani hanlana, and the one suffering from it ni mwezi hanlaki.

As frequent as the severe form of ani hanlana is -- since every woman suffers from it several times in the course of his active period, and it is rare if one of them remains spared altogether -- the Europeans will nevertheless usually be able to observe only the much more commonly occurring mild form. Here the long pre-stage is entirely absent or is limited to a few hours or even only minutes, during which the patient sits gloomily and weeps. The attack here lasts about a quarter of an hour to half an hour and ends with general exhaustion followed by sleep. It should also be mentioned that among the mdzeezy Nagos tribes who live in close contact with the Wanni and

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[illegible]

[illegible] have adopted many of their manners and customs the women regard becoming smitten with the *wa hachizo* as a sign of woe. Sometimes excitement, and they frequently continue to for this reason. Outside attempting rides the minutiae with space to bend before one of the camp and would surely not suffer an injury on anyone, even if — as to the *[illegible]* cases observed among the Shelbaggo — a few people did not immediately run after him, seize him, and beat him back.

The lack of any control over exercise and behaviour probably also plays a not unimportant role in the occurrence of *wa hachizo*. The cause seems to me, however, to lie entirely in the excessive use of the aforementioned narcotics, so that the illness would not occur at all if they were avoided completely or were taken only to a very considerably lower volume. Their beneficiaries can be observed almost daily among the warriors in an abnormal state of nervous excitability. This view is based on my observations (with which all the informants on this point spoke to me by the blood agree) that only the warriors, that is, the young, strong, healthy men, are smitten with *wa hachizo*, while boys and youths, before they enter into the association of the warriors, and even during the five period as well, and furthermore married men, as well as girls and women, remain completely immune to it. These persons, however, either do not take any of the stimulants named at all, or only in very small measure.

In this description of *wa hachizo* one is inevitably reminded of the *running amok* of the Malays. Only the complex of symptoms is similar, however, while the etiology and the prognosis are entirely different. Whereas running amok as a rule ends with the death of the person concerned, *wa hachizo* is cured within a few days. Whereas the effect of opium as the original cause of running amok is today no longer regarded as decisive, in every case of *wa hachizo* the copious use of them agents only a short time before will be ascertained.

/70% cont./

by any means depend on immediate and permanent exhaustion. Rather, the latter presupposes few of all a vital energy such as a /full/ people has out of its previous circumstances by poverty and disease no longer possesses, and then also an inner urge toward exhaustion, arising only in the course of long periods of time through gradually entering into new contents and views, which overcome the former, hereditary inclination toward sensations. Thus, a nomadic people, deprived of its herds, experiences a long stage during which it slowly learns the tilling of the soil and owns to obtain its necessary and indispensible even diet through hunting. The war and raiding lust inherent to the free nomad, whose goal, war, continues for him an economic resource through the livestock herds thus captured, is a factor that delays the attainment of permanent exhaustion. For, first of all, raiding new uncontestable neighbors whom people prefer to drive farther away, and, second, the booty in livestock prolongs the hybrid existence of the erstwhile herd nomads. The yield of the hunt is another factor with the same effect, which endangers an exhaustion if the hunter learned the trade at a time in which he could train himself as a hunter-nomad with the support of well-to-do fellow villagers or farm owners.

Now the tradition of the Ideal relates that with, so, Seth, beside and in association with, the *Qenenī* lived villagers who were cooperatized even earlier and more thoroughly than the former and had already learned how to acquire by raiding the most land longest tax by farm. We may therefore expect that they were only able to become sedentary later than the former and that at that time their settling down on agriculturalists still lay far away. New tradition mentions among them an influential man named Cl above. In him I think one may recognize Shem, the ancestor of the Israelites mentioned in Le Nomm /Genesis/ 10, 21 ff., and in the lineage passed after him, the Ei ebener, the Hebrews. I suspect this not only because of the phonetic similarity of the names, but also for two other reasons.

/Ted cont./

• 121 125 El shows because the founder of the lineage of the El shows, named after him, which slowly at that time can separate from the present by its external mode of life and had to become separated even further by its continued development. Though this is to some probable that when the migration of the Ishmaelites the meaning of the name as one of many lineages of a people revealed and was transformed into the conception of a tribe name.

• (121) Furthermore the tradition of the Ishmaelites reports that their separation from the present and El shows remaining behind took place at the time the sons of El shows, Ceshim, Ivvah, and the Biblical account is to be known /Genesis/ 11. It says that at the time of Peleg, son of Eber, the earth was divided, which, translated from the Biblical language and considering the circumstance that the Israelites regarded themselves as the chosen people, besides whom other peoples were inferior, contemptible leaders, could mean nothing other than as that time a local shift has occurred without significance for the Hebrew people occurred, within the field of vision of the Hebrews, among the peoples close to them.

/Ted/ Accordingly, I think it may be assumed that in the Ivvah of the primeval age, on whose direct descendants the present-day Ishmaelites regard themselves,belonged the oldest traceable component of the Israelites, who, as a Hebrew people, was originally identical with the lineage of the El shows.

• 121 125 171 173 With regard to the further fate of the El shows-Hebrews the Ishmaelitic tradition reports that they found special support by the agricultural people of the El diven (1)

> 1. As a parallel to the peaceful, neighborly association in which, according to the tradition of the Ishmaelites, the El shows stood with regard to the El diven,might be interpreted, in the sense of the reasoning El diven = Hamitites /Hittites/, the report in Genesis 23, in which it is told how Abraham acquired a burial place for Sarah in the land of the Hamitites /Hittites/ with whom he was on a friendly basis, and further the passage

/Neh. ends./

• 21:1 • 21:2 • 21:3 • 21:5

/Sarrara i sentiment/ in Genesis 20, 14, which reports that Gen. Abraham's grandson, married two Berbiten /birrina/ women, Judith and Basemath /Baakoonath/. — That even at that time it was not always easy for Hebrews to find suitable girls of pure Hebrew extraction for marriage we see from Genesis 27 and 28, where it is reported that Jakob /Jacob/ was ordered by his mother, who could not get along with Esau's Berbiten /birrina/ wives, to go and to Aram Naharaim in order to look himself a Hebrew wife from there. — One should also note, in connection with the name El Olam, the name of Jakob's daughter by Asher /Rachel/, Jimah (Genesis 46, 17). This evidence seems to be of particular significance because it refers to the most ancient time in which the Hebrews were still nature-god records. One may think as he wants to about the historical value of these passages, but among all the details there is one that may be clung to securely, that these reports are based on the memory of a close contact — and, to be sure, not a brief one, but of longer duration — of the Hebrews with the Berbibers /birrina/, which took place during a time that lies at the very beginning of Hebrew history, to those epochs in which the two historical movements met up like islands out of the sea of myths. — The Islamic tradition reports further that the El Olam lived in exodus. This, however, is a bit late very similar to the one that is still customary today in Asia Minor and Syria, that is to say, in the lands once inhabited by Hurbibers

[illegible]

[illegible] I mentioned [illegible], which even today still distinguish the meat and animal forbidden [illegible] descendants.

and bread to their society. From that it is to be concluded with great probability that they adopted some customs from them, and this assumption also seems to confirm the one in the dissection of the identity of the [illegible] eleven and Hebrews.

Just as the El Amarna did not consume blood and let the slaughter animal blood from the ground until it every before eating it up, so also was it forbidden for the Israelites to consume blood, according to Lev blessed /Genesis/ 9, in his blessed /Leviticus/ 3, [illegible] 17, 10-14a 15, 19, and 7:26 blessed /Deuteronomy/ 15, 16, 23, 24a 15, 23, a law which Lev, as is well known, because statement was the slaughter ritual. The passages in his blessed /Leviticus/ 17, 10, and in 7:26 blessed /Deuteronomy/ 15, 16, 24, and 15, 23, also expressly order that one is to let the blood run out and flow on the ground like water. It is to be mentioned in this connection that the law of these passages comes from the law-book that allegedly was found around the year 621 when the temple was being restored, but in reality had only been written then, by the forming of the Lev priesthood that had grown on Ezekiel's /Ezekiel/ will take a priestly rule. The other passages, however, stem from the so-called Priestly Codex, /[illegible]/ made by priests who, just like the people by whom it was invented, grew up in exile. If I further add that the blessed passages are the only ones in the entire Pentateuch that deal with the prohibition of the consumption of blood, it is doubtless indeed clear that we are dealing here, not with something originally Hebrew, but with a foreign view and institution. That the prohibition against the consumption of blood could have come to the Hebrews only through the influence of a people practicing agriculture is taught by the fact that, for the Lord reminds, the blood of their livestock is a valuable food, which is preferably consumed either alone or as an addition to other foods. Just as among the Semitic peoples of Interior Africa who have become sedentary -- avoid contact with Negroes -- so also among the Hebrews does the custom of consuming blood as food seem to have been preserved long after they became sedentary.

COR

and moths, mayfly fly, and chironom.

Burning grassland appears to be a deeply ingrained cultural habit. Every Thursday all and out and ignite small patches of unburned grass, sometimes only one or two feet across. We have watched local women stubbing across a dry plain lighting matches as they went, leaving a long line of small blazes gradually joining together behind them. We have watched junior and senior elders lighting fires, as well as boys and women. We had noticed plots that were burned as much as four times in one year. So we would add to the above explicit reasons for burning, the implied reason that they also have simple because they get some satisfaction out of it.

Fires are lit with matches. Possibly some are started from cooking fires that get away. Some fires, especially in wooded areas, are stirred by Pandanaibe honey hunters (see below). But virtually all the fires whose origins we investigated were lit by Bwadi.

It seems probable that the coming of Europeans has altered the fire regime by providing large supplies of matches. It is far easier to light fires with matches than by using fires as other primitive means. With fires

09. Talbot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1956 FL12 Wkmnl FL12

every opportunity. There are gangsas to gatherers to clear new grazing land. During the 20 months of our major study period, an area in excess of the Gas Forest (at the East of the Gas Encampment) is kept below 2 meters, often to the ruins, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or bush.

Relations with Wildlife

The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through excluding hunting tribes from Kenyaland. The Dorobo are an exception, but there are relatively few Dorobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest accumulations of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Kenyaland.

The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include buffalo for staples and possibly food, eland for food and the ceremonial gourds and dresses, giraffe for tails for fly whisks (to ornament gourds and dresses, according to Miller, 1958), lions and sometimes leopard for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to split national park authorities (particularly in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).